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ABSTRACT

Investigated in this study were: (1) the sociolinguistic background of bilingual students at the University of Texas at El Paso (UTEP); (2) the socioeducational side of bilingualism; (3) the relationship between skill in English and academic performance among bilinguals; and (4) the language attitudes of these students. A stratified random sample of 301 full-time, undergraduate, unmarried Mexican Americans at UTEP during 1970-71 was used. The sample was subdivided into 16 homogeneous groups according to age, sex, year of school, and other factors within the Mexican American and the Anglo population. The Sociolinguistic Background Questionnaire and the College and University Environment Scales (CUES) were administered. The CUES consisted of the following: practicality, propriety, community, awareness, and scholarship. A sub-sample of 30 students was used to measure the linguistic portion of the study. Some of the findings were: (1) performance was in general lower in Spanish than in English; (2) as socioeconomic status increased, so did English skill; (3) attitudes toward the desirability of English were correlated with school performance; and (4) skill in written English was positively related to academic performance. Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document. (NQ)

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SOME FINDINGS OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH ON MEXICAN-AMERICAN COLLEGE AGE BILINGUALS

(Prepared for Society for Applied Anthropology
April 12-14, 1973, University of Arizona, Tucson Conference)

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A. Some Introduction Observations

There is a wide and serious gap between specific knowledge regarding the educational performance of Mexican-American bilinguals and the real situation, beyond impressionistic notions that the former are acutely behind their Anglo peers. This is due, of course, to the absence of a "data bank"of hard information on the subject, although efforts like that of ERIC continue to be extremely helpful in making available findings of unpublished reports of much of ongoing investigations and activity. It is cold comfort that the situation is vastly better regarding Black students--result of massive research efforts mounted in the inner cities, especially of our North and Middle West. Moreover, nowhere are the lacunae greater than as regards the teen-age and college-age chicanos.

A preliminary search of the literature has brought home the paucity of investigations performed under controlled conditions at the college level on Mexican Americans.

Unfortunately, despite this, many sweeping generalizations are commonly accepted about this population. Worst of all is the tendency to lump all Mexican-American students in one amorphous mass. There is too little recognition of the vast educational distance, for example between first-graders from a squalid barrio or a migrant worker's tarpaper shack and a college sophomore or

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graduate student from a lower middle class home in a residential suburb. Research at this university is beginning to show that at this level the education gap tends to be milder or in some cases non-existing. This is not to declare that the entire literature and body of statistics regarding "the disadvantagedness of Chicanos within the culture of poverty" are erroneous and misleading and should be scrapped. It only means that there is an urgent need for the testing out or corroboration of many, if not, most of the assumptions relating to Mexican-American schooling. Sociolinguistics, we feel, offers the best approach to such investigations, attempting to correlate, as it does, both linguistic and socio-educational factors. Thus can one avoid distortions of focus so likely when educational facts and figures are presented in a socie tal vacuum without reference to other factors capable of entirely altering their implications and semantic import.

B. Genesis of a Microcosmic Study

In 1968, several members of the faculty of the above institution began to realize that although we were situated right on the U.S. Mexican border, our curricula generally differed little than one let us say, at the University of Nebraska or Iowa where ethnocultural and linguistic diversity are extremely low. By contrast, at our school, which apparently is the most bilingual/bicultural of any senior institution in all the United States well over a third of our enrollment is comprised of Mexican-Americans with individual classes often reflecting well over 90 per cent Spanish-surname constituency. Moreover Spanish is heard in the halls of our buildings as commonly as English, perhaps more so. At the same time, we are aware that while many millions of dollars were being spent on intervention programs such as Head Start,

Project Bravo, Vista and others, These efforts were impeded by an adequate "data bank". To a large extent to often the individuals involved in such programs were functioning as "artists" to use a simile of obviously the lack of a truly well-grounded data base is a consequence of the lightning-like growth of programs in general among major ethnic minorities during the past decade or so.

Our beginnings were extremely modest, and for the first three years, total financial support consisted of some $2,600 representing pilot grants from our Research Institute and the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health of Austin, Texas. Fortunately, last year the Spencer Foundation of Chicago, interested in educational innovation, awarded a grant of some $60,000 to us for the establishment of the Cross-Cultural Southwest Ethnic Study Center, for which my co-investigator is Z. Anthony Kruszewske, of the Department of Political Science.

The program of Sociolinguistic Studies on Southest Bilingualism is under the above aegis, and is sponsoring, among other things, original research papers on topics ranging from folklore of the El Paso-Juarez area by John West of our English Department to a study of Arabic-speaking and other middle Eastern groups in the Southwest by Najm Bezirgan, and Rosemary G. Karam, at U.T. Austin. At any rate the original team in 1968 consisted of: Gary Brooks, Associate Professor of Education and Director of the Office of Institutional Studies; Bonnie Brooks, Dept. of Education, Psychology and Guidance; Paul W. Goodman Department of Sociology, and the writer.

Our first concrete achievement was to devise a Sociolinguistic Background Questionaire, (copyrighted by Brooks, Brooks, Goodman and Ornstein, 1971). In order to identify its main weaknesses , it was administered on a trial basis to some 94 students of four randomly selected Spanish classes, two elementary, one intermediate and one advanced. The instrument contains 106 questions, mostly in multiple-choice form. In addition to the usual demographic items there are a number of questions of an attitudinal sort, regarding outlooks on English vs. Spanish in the domains of daily life (home, friends, school, church and work), followed by questions on life style and work ethic. The very last query invites respondents to comment critically on any of the preceding items. Average time for completion is 20-25 minutes.

An optional part II of our questionnaire is made up of language elicitation, aimed at assessing linguistic performance in both Spanish and English or in a code-switching variety, termed for which one might see Haugen's apt terms "bilingual dialect" or "contactual dialect" (1969: 72, 370-71; 1971), or L^3 meaning "language variety three", a term proposed at the First International Symposium in Language acquisition meeting in Florence, Sept. 3-5 by Els Oksaar, University of Hamburg. First comes an open-ended interview of several subjects together with the interviewer, who is usually a peer, and who broaches a variety of topics, intended to bring the former to the highest level of their competence. These range from elementary discussion of daily living, to topics of intermediate difficulty and complexity, such as comparisons of life styles in America and Mexico, or of a film recently seen, to the more advanced levels of abstraction

and conceptualization, such as existentialist and other philosophies, religion as a force in life, and Chicano and other ethnic movements. One theme sure to draw fire in our area of the confluence of cultures in the desirability of Machismo, the Latin version of male supremacy.

Following the oral interview, comes the written portion, with three levels of topics, at each of which they have abundant choices with the sole proviso that they must write on the same themes in both Spanish and English. This written component, we feel, provides a dimension too often neglected in American sociolinguistics, although the British school of Bernstein and Lawton, particularly the latter, emphasize it a great deal. In our opinion, without minimizing the oral vernaculars, writing and reading skills are an indispensable portion of the communication equipment in an advanced technological civilization such as ours.

In order to cope with the socioeducational side of bilingualism our team undertook a stratified random sample of our entire, full-time, undergraduate, unmarried student body, subdivided into 16 homogeneous groups according to age, sex, year of school and other factors, within the two general populations of Spanish-surnamed individuals, or Mexican-Americans, and the others known in the Southwest by the portmanteau term of Anglos. This comprises approximately 5 percent of the undergraduates students present at this university in the academic year 1970-1971, or 301 in all, who completed the Sociolinguistic Backgrounded Questionnaire as well as the CUES test. The latter is an acronym for college and University Environment Scales, a commercial instrument prepared by Pace and others for the Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey.

The above instrument, consisting of 160 true-false items, attempts to measure students' perceptions on their home institutions employing the following scales: 1. Practicality, 2. Propriety, 3. Community, 4. Awareness, and 5. Scholarship. From these responses a profile of the school's perceived climate on the five dimensions can be constructed. Aso profiles for student subpopulations can be constructed and compared.

Wayne Murray (1972) has completed his dictional dissertation on the results of the cities. He has noted, "Similar to individuals, schools have a unique 'personality' or 'climate'." Variables associated with different aspects of the climate or environment can be measured and used as information for administrative decision-making. Hence data from both the CUES test and our Sociolinguistic Background Questionnaire will result in studies, already under way intended to:

1. Determine the structure of the perceptions of the bilingual-bicultural student population at U.T.El Paso and compare it with the structure of the perceptions of students enrolled at institutions with ethnically homogeneous student populations.
2. Determine and compare the environmental perceptions of Mexican-Americans and Anglos at U. T. El Paso.
3. Determine and compare environmental perceptions of Mexican-Americans who report assimilation problems and Mexican-Americans who report no such problems.

On the linguistic side, a ten percent sub-sample has been taken of the overall sampling, with 30 students in all who completed our entire elicitation battery. The taped bilingual corpus and the compositions have been rated by three independent judges, who assigned ratings on a five-point scale, in which the top figure signified native proficiency. Due to the difficulty of finding enough trained linguists with available time in my area, we turned to colleagues elsewhere in the Southwest, who for token fees as consultants are analyzing parts of our corpuses, thus supplementing the work dome by the writer and others. These consultants include Jerry R. Croaddock, Dept. of Spanish and Portuguese University of California, Berkeley, for general dialectology and Southwest Spanish lexican; Fritz Hensey, Dept. of Spanish and Portuguese, University of Texas at Austin, for grammar and syntax; David Foster, Dept. Of Foreign Languages, Arizona State Univ. Tempe, for Spanish phonology; and for English, Bates Hoffer, Dept. of English, Trinity Univ. San Antonio, Texas and Curtis W. Hayes, Dept. of English, University of Nebraska, Language and literature faculty of our school who are involved include: Charles Elerick, Dept. of Linguistics; William M. Russell and Ana María Marquez Dept. of Modern Languages.

A monograph on Southwest Spanish lexican has already been completed and a long paper, undergoing amplification, on the syntax are the first fruits of our effort, filed at our Center and will soon be made available to qualified persons.

Considerable portions of our corpuses have been utilized by graduate students for term papers and for thesis topics. These in varying degrees, also help to fill in the gaps in our knowledge of Southwest language varieties, and will eventually be distributed by our Center as well.

Interestingly enough in the socioeconomic rating scale devised by Paul W. Goodman, (an original team member), of our Sociology Department. He combined features from two well-known other scales, reversed the Hollingshead values for amount of education and added an eight value, while simplifying Duncan's occupational indices to an eight-point scale, adding up both numerical values for the result. It should be explained that El Paso and certain other parts of the Southwest find ethnic groups living much less in homogeneous enclaves or ghettoes, hence the validity of residency as a factor was questionable. This is not to suggest that our Southwest is a Utopia, but this fact did emerge in the sociological part of our study (1970). In a paper presented a few years ago, Goodman explains his methodology in full.

One of the most important end-results of the team undertaking is to be the creation of a Bilingual student Profile or Index, which would embody much of the information gained in our study and supplemented by inputs from our Registrar's Office on Grade Point Average, Student Achievement Tests, High School Records, Graduate Record Exams and the like.

C. INVESTIGATION OF CORRELATIONS BETWEEN LINGUISTIC AND SOCIAL FAC_-TORS.

The completion of this paper has been many times delayed by that ubiquitous enemy of most research projects-- the time -consuming nature of the analysis of the data. Hence it is impossible, in the long run, to delay reporting findings in a perfectionistic striving for total completion. Admittedly the writer would be happier if he at this time possessed far more results than is the case at present, but we might plead, paraphrasing a well-known saying, that in the kingdom of the blind, or the area where scanty information exists, the researcher who can fill even a few serious lacunae has a right to do so.

Results of the CUES test are being discussed by Murray in a forthcoming article, based on his doctoral dissertation on the subject (Murray, 1972). Incidentally, in the various dimensions of attitudes treated in the instrument, Murray found an significa difference of outlook between Chicanos and Anglos only in that of scholarship. Mexican -Americans, contrary to the stereotype of reverence for learning attributed to Latin cultures, rated this university, its faculty and teaching efforts far lower than did their Anglo peers. In general, he found sex rather than ethnicity the only variable which made much difference throughout the questionnaire.

All our data awaits finer-honed analysis than has been possibl thus far, but work has proceeded steadily if not rapidly. The three corpora which are thus being exploited are: (1) The data from the questionnaire surveying 301 students (2) Language data from the linguistic sub-sample of 30 Ss (3) the CUES test. Our ongoin task is to investigate, first of all, whatever interrelations may be shown by our microcosm, dipping into data from each of these three sources at will.

At any rate, motivated by the desire to find a broader framework in which to regard the bilingualism/biculturalism of our Subjects than those utilized heretofore, the writer elaborated a working model of sociolingustic orientation, terming it "correlational" or "relational bilingualism". Althou this is expostulated more fully in another essay (Ornstein,1972), we need only say here that it attempts to view bilingualism and its analog bicult-uralism against the social contexts in which the individual exists and functions. Attention is paid not only the the facts about his ability to perform in the various languages and/or language varieties controlled by him, but also to the possible relationships of his special status to the societal factors most relevant to such existing and functioning, within the "small gropps" and the macro-society to which he belongs. The fact that our study is particularly concerned with socio-educational considerations has naturally caused us to emphasize these relationships. Nevertheless, if the model has anything to offer, it would obviously have application to such areas as socio-politics where an individual's welfare and progress may vary vastly according to differentiated linguistic-cultural, political or religious affiliation. In all these cases one tends to assume, but not necessarily always, that the basic reference points is a monolingual individual adhering to some dominant or elite group. Such an approach, it would seem, would make it possible for linguist to join hands with social scientist in a more practical way than has been the case up to now.

Continuing in this wise, our team had identified 69 variables and some 40 hypotheses concerning their possible interrelationships. Hence we have sought possible correlations between the following sets of factors: (1) linguistic variables with one another (2) linguistic factors with socio-educational and demographic ones (3) socio-educational factors with one another, or intra-socio-educational factors.

As a first step toward analysis through "relational bilingualism" the writer, with the assistance of the team, set up a global "correlational matrix" with the 68 variables plotted on the vertical and horizontal grids (one variable had to be abandoned). The purpose of this is mostly to show at a glance whether there is a positive or inverse relationship between any two variables at least at the .05 level of confidence, or whether no such relationship exists. Another advantage of this device is that it helps the researcher to keep some sort of grasp, hopefully in the form of a "gestalt", over the often mind-boggling detail involved. For the present study, the following is the "correlational matrix" :

Figure 1 (appendix)
deleted because of illegibility

Such a matrix, nevertheless, no matter how useful, cannot be claimed to be more than a point of reference for the various operations of data analysis, as it becomes available from the computer. For example, one may consult the two variables of overall performance in Spanish and English respectively with the remaining factors, if any. The matrix itself, however, is only a tool, and much more explication is needed of any set of relationships. For our purpose, at least, we will not choose to limit ourselves merely to statistical data, but will seek at the various stages of our analysis to supplement discussions of results with ethnographic and socio-cultural data gleaned from a variety of sources. Even impressionistic statements and anecdotal materials, perhaps over-used by camp-stool linguists and certain types of anthropologists, ought to have a legitimate place here, granting that they are clearly marked for what they are.

Of most interest, no doubt to this particular section of the conference will be the results from our linguistic sub-sample, which

again still require fuller analysis than we have accorded it thus far. It should b e useful here,however, to include a chart showing the theulperformance ratings of the Ss in Spanish and English respectively

Figure 2 (appendix)

What should not be surprising in the above chart was that Spanish performance was in general appreciably lower than it was in English .Nevertheless, scores in both languges were clustered at well above the intermediate leval,and indeed between 3.0 and 3.9 out of a possible 5-points. As ought to be well known,here in the Southwest, there is a complementary distribution of Spanish vs. English in the various domains of living,with English generally reserved for the formal domains.In addition, since most of our Subjects had had the overwhelming share of their formal schooling in English as a language of instruction(bilingual schooling is only now beginning to make some inroads), it is not astonishing that the control of formal registers of Spanish must come off as a poor second. Further aspects of language competence and performance are discussed in some detail, in a series of articles by the writer, and in which other aspects of our survey are touched upon (Ornstein 1970a, 1970b, 1971a, 1971b, 1972)

Returning now to the sub-samples, we will discuss some of the relationships already apparent between language and social factors. It is revelant at this point to inumerate some of the hypothesis and make to see what sort of outcome emerages.

Here are a portion of these factors:

1. As socioeconomic status increases, so does English skill.
2. As English capability increases, so does academic performance.
3. Attitudes toward the desirability of English are positively correlated with school performance.
4. A high degree of loyalty to Spanish will correlate positively with performance in Spanish.
5. Bilinguals studying other languages such as German and French will have superior academic performance.
6. A high degree of loyalty to Spanish will correlate positively with traditional Spanish values; conversely, attitudes favorable to the desirability of English will be directly related to high rating on "Protestant work ethnic".
7. Two types of bilinguals are expected to be found: one, an assimilating Mexican-American versus a more recent pro-Chicano type, with high loyalty to Southwest Spanish patterns, in both language and culture.

In their paper? Goodman and Renner, "Social Factors and Language" (1972) let us now see what sort of correlation actually emerages and amount of variance in the depend variable.

Table 4

CORRELATIONS Between Social Class and Selected Variables In A Sample of Mexican-American Students

Dependent Variable	Correlation	Amount of Variance Explained in the Dependent Variable
Use of English		
A) at home	+.24*	5.76 percent
b) at school	+.14*	1.96 "
c) during recreation	+.02*	.04
d) in"mainstream" contacts	+.19	3.61
e) at work	+.01*	.01
Loyalty to Spanish Language	+.16	2.56 "
Loyalty to Spanish (Mexican-Amer.) Customs	+.03*	.09
Degree of Assimilation Problems	-.19	3.61

Not Significant at the .05 level of confidence (i.e. .159). In interpreting this table, it is important to bear in mind that to have significance, a correlation must be above the .159 cut-off point, signifying that a statistical relationship does exist.

Social class, as measured by the occupational and educational status of the respondent's father, was found to be insigrificant in determination of proficiency in either Spanish or English. The coefficients are illustrated below in Table 2 between social class and oral and written skill in both languages.

Table 2
Correlations between Social Class and Measures of Language Proficiency: A Sample of Bilinguals at the University of Texas at El Paso (N=30)

Language Skill	Social Class
Oral Spanish	+.26
Written Spanish	+.11
Oral English	+.06
Written English	+.01

Although all of the correlations were in the predicted direction, they are of inadequate size to signify that social class is an importnat independent variable in the determination of language skill among bilinguals.

One of the primary concerns of the present analysis has been the relationship between skill in English and academic performance among bilinguals. It was predicted that there would be a positive correlation between language performance in English and several measures of academic performance, including quantitative and verbal Scholastic Aptitude Test Scores, cumulative grade point average in college and high school rank. The hypothesis was based on the fact that English proficiency is a prerequiste to adequate academic achievement within the American educational system. Table 3 illustrates the results of the

statistical testing.

Table 3

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SKILL IN ENGLISH AND SEVERAL MEASURES OF ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE IN A SAMPLE BILINGUALS: AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT EL PASO (N=30)

Academic Performance	English Skill	
	Oral	Written
Verbal Scholastic Aptitude Test	+.17	+.43
Quantitative Scholastic Aptitude Test	+.24	+.38
Grade Point Averages	+.33	+.55
High School Rank	+.02	+.14

Examination of Table 3 reveals that skill in written English is positively related to academic performance, while oral English proficiency apparently has no significant bearing on academic performance. Especially high is the correlation between skill in written English and grade point averages, reflecting the reliance on written works to judge the students. Similarly, the +.43 correlation between verbal Scholastic Aptitude Test and skill in written English is predictable. The lesser correlation of +.38 between quantitiative SAT's and written English proficiency was understandable, since there is less reliance upon the English language and more upon the formulaic nature of mathematical concepts. High school rank and skill in written English are not significantly related. This lack of correlation may actually be due to the lack of variation in high school rank, since most of the students in the sample graduated in the top half of the senior class. The lack of variation means that the coefficient will

be small, since the purpose of the Pearson product moment correlation is to explain variance. One might conclude that written English proficiency is related to how well a bilingual student does in academic life, while oral ability has no significant effect.

The next section deals with the correlations between oral and written skills in the two languages among the bilingual students in the sample.

Table 4
Correlations between Oral and Written Skill in Spanish and that in English in a Bilingual Sample of the Students at the University of Texas at El Paso
(N=30)

	Spanish Skill	
English Skill	Oral Spanish	Written Spanish
Oral English	+.5127	+.3732
Written English	+.3197	+.3418

Although all the coefficients are fairly high, with such a small sample, only the correlations between oral and written Spanish and oral English profiency can be considered significant. In other words, proficiency in Spanish is more highly related to oral English ability than is the former to written English skill. It may be that those students who are proficient in Spanish are able to pick up the oral English quite easilu, while skills in written English are slower in coming.

Another point of vital interest to educators is the efficiency of academic courses in Spanish related to Spanish skill. Table 5 shows that the amount of spanish taken in college is positively related to written Spanish skills, but not to oral Spanish ability. The concentration on written skills in the college classroom rather than oral ability is reflected in the significant correlation between amount of Spanish courses t aken in college and skills in written Spanish. High school Spanish is not related to either oral or written ability in Spanish, perhaps signifying the inadequacy of language courses in high schools.

Table 5
Correlations between the Amount of Spanish Taken In High School and College and Spanish Proficiency in a Sample of Bilinguals at the University of Texas at El Paso
(N=30)

Academic courses in Spanish	Spanish Skills	
	Oral Spanish	Written Spanish
High-school Spanish	⁺.31	⁺.17
College Spanish	⁺.21	⁺.38

As noted above, the items included in the sociolinguistic questionnaire asked the students to rate themselves in both Spanish and English capability. Table 6 illustrates the correlation coefficients between the self-ratings of proficiency in both Spanish and English and objective ratings of language skill.

Table 6
Correlations between Self-Evaluations of English and Spanish Capability and Objective Evaluation of Language Proficiency in a Sample of Bilinguals at the University Of Texas at El Paso
(n=30)

Language Skill	Self-Evaluation of English Capability	Self-Evaluation of Spanish Capability
Oral Spanish	X	⁺.55
Written Spanish	X	⁺.71
Oral English	⁺.09	X
Written English	⁺.08	X

According to initial predictions, the bilingual students were much more realistic in their assessment of their Spanish ability than in their rating of their English skill. That is, the bilingual at the University of Texas at El Paso is much more realistially aware of how skilled he is in Spanish, his native tongue, than he is cognizant of his English proficiency.

Returning once more to attempts at correlating Banguge and social factors , we offer still another matrix , a smaller one intended to show possible interrelations between linguistic variables of performance in the languages and nine other variables. These consist of, following the identification number: sex, age, socio-economic status, year of college, high school rank, Verbal part of Student Aptitude Test (SAT), Mathematics part of SAT, Grade Point Avergge, Combined Spanish Performance, Compined English Performance . In the chart below, these are arranged from left to right, and at the bottom of each column one may also find the mean as well as the standard deviation.

Figure 3 (appendix)

No more will be said about the above chart than that we are now in the process of trying to establish as precisely as possible the interrelationships represented in that matrix, embodying as they do , some of the leading indices of educational achievement. As has been mentioned before in this paper, socia-economic status tends not to be a very powerful variable for our sample, perhaps reflecting an unusual homogeneity of the students surveyed, and one that may well be peculiar to the El Paso area. At any rate, a certain number of points have already been discussed which refer to the variables on this matrix.

Moving now toward the conclusion of this paper we wish to make some comments regarding language attitudes, based on the results of the over-all sample.

As linguists it behooves us to focus all possible attention, it would appear, upon the issue of communication skills as a factor in the academic progress of Mexican-Americans. Do our findings generally imply that by the time Chicanos reach college, their command of English does not generally represent a serious handicap, or a handicap at all. From our sample it would seem so. Perhaps the corollary of the above supposition is that only those who acquire strong English language skills ever do survive the numerous screenings at various points of the educational ladder to be accepted at college. One disturbing thought regarding our Subjects of the sub-sample must be presented here, and it is that by and large their English compositions showed a remarkably small number of deviant phenomena. In fact, Robert Esch, Assistant Professor in our Department of English, had the following to say, after his examination of the compositions of the V series, as the sub-sample corpus is called:

"The papers in the V series are simply "too good" in my opinion to be truly typical of the language production of Mexican American bilinguals at the Freshman level-- students with whom I deal and with whom I am most familiar". (Personal communication, Feb. 1973).

If indeed our analysis continues to show that in many important respects Mexican-American bilinguals are not disadvantaged in many important phases of the collegiate educational process, this will lend some corroboration to the small body of literature claiming that bilinguals are "advantaged", and may do much better as all-around students than their monolingual peers. Does ontogenetic development in two languages heighten semantic awareness and perceptions. If so, and since much of our formal education depends upon the understanding of abstract and other concepts, perhaps bilingualism/biculturalism can be shown to have great benefits for certain populations.

Further implications will have to be entrusted to my colleagues, who are primarily education specialists. One of these, is, however, that motivation may be generally higher, although this is difficult or impossible to measure quantitatively, may be higher among Mexican-Americans, who, aware of prejudices and inequalities of the past and even of the present, feel that they must put for the greater efforts than those who are already integrated into the WASP mainstream.

Coming to the conclusion of our considerations of the initial results of the ongoing study, we submit that surveys like the present one may be a steip forward in reducing the negative orientation so common in research among culturally-differentiated populations, with a strong bias in favor of the lowest socio-economic classes, since, of course, research funds are available here. While one cannot discount the powerful link between non-standard language, poor scholastic achievement, and lower socio-economic status, as a common-sense premise, it is a distortion of the total picture to omit from consideration average and high achievers among minority groups such minority groups as Mixican-Americans, Blacks, Native Americans and even Appalachian Whites.

Another parameter, finally, of the issue, is the one pertaining to "culture fairness" and the opposite. The growing revolt against monolithic school performance norms for minority and mainstream groups alike, has much to do with the results of this study, which by and large, involved mainstream standards. Accordingly, the concern with alleged inequalities stemming from culturo-linguistic and educational factors is which is so rapidly spreading through Government, industry and the school establishment (witness the accumulation of court cases to this effect) might actually result in a differentiation of norms, where necessary. If these materialize in

a nation supposedly dedicated to cultural pluralism, the types of co relations XXXXXXX presented in this study are partly thrown into cocked hat. Does one now need to think in terms of dual sets of norms, and man namely an inter-ethnic and an intra-group set? Should a study like ours set up a parallel dimension and apparatus in which Chicanos are compared with each other, rather than with WASP's?

In view of the fact that the writer concudes this essay with questions rather than neat answers to the complex problem issues of cultural differentiation in a kind of cultural pluralism, he probably ought to defend himself by asserting that with scientific inquirty, it were ever so. If, however, we are succeeding in our University of Texas El Paso team effort to bring at least a new insight into the problems of college-age Mexican-Americans, we are not failing completely.

Space forbids us to enter into a discussion here of the attitudes held by the two over-all groups vis-à- vis the varieties of Southwest Spanish and English. However, we will dwell a bit on the replies to a question asking whether they had made special efforts to improve their control of these two languages. According to Goodman and Brooks (1973) Mexican-American students showed themselves to be more "language conscious" than their Anglo peers both as regards in Spanish and in English. These two researchers found in their analyses that 52 per cent of Mexicans-Americans, or a majority, indicated that they had made such efforts with English, as compared with only 39 percent of the Anglos. In view of the fact that Chicanos had rated themselves lower in English than their actual performance in the language sample at least, there is good reason to assume that they feel less confident in their English language skills than their monolingual peers, hence have an additional incentive for taking action to upgrade proficiency. When it came to Spanish skills, however, a similar picture emerged, with 75 percent of Mexican-Americans reporting efforts to improve in this language, and only 32 percent of Anglos so reporting. Here it needs, of course, to be noted that Spanish for most Anglos does not carry with it the same motivation as does English for Mexican-Americans.

The apparent concern with communication skills in our Chicano subjects is well worth further investigation, throughout the Southwest particularly to ascertain to what extent English-language skills is regarded as a function of success in formal education. We have seen that English-language knowledge in our study, or rather our sub-sample, correlated significantly with the Verbal part of the SAT, but not the Mathematical part. To what extent it has correlation with Grade Point Average throughout the college careers of our Subjects is still not known precisely enough by us, but we are studying this aspect with particular interest at the very moment.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Appreciation is expressed for research support and which has to this and related studies, from : the Research Institute of the University of Texas at El Paso; the Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, University of Texas at Austin, and the Spencer Foundation, Chicago. At the same time, a Senior Fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities last year permitted the writer the leisure to develop some of the notions embodied in this study. Recognition should be made as well of a number of constructive suggestions from various colleagues, as well as of the contribution of Miss Ellen Muller, Coronado High School, El Paso, Mr. Arturo Piñón, El Paso Public Schools, and Mr. Alfonso Márquez, a senior at this university, in acting as a panel of independent judges to evaluate language performance of our linguistic sub-sample. Whatever the weaknesses of this study may be, however, they are solely attributable to the author. Finally, very valuable hints were also received from both Dianne Fairbank, Department of Sociology here, and Miss Kathryn Renner, University of New Mexico.

[2] The present paper has utilized, in revised form, a portion of the statistical data and charts prepared by Miss Ellen Muller who, as noted in the text, is completing her MA thesis on the linguistic performance of our bilinguals.

[3] Individuals interested in the papers available through our Center, (a number of which are relevant to the theme of the present paper) may request current lists from The Librarian Cross-Cultural Southwest Ethnic Study Center, Box 13 University of Texas El Paso, Tex. 79968.

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Figure 2

V SERIES

(N = 30)

Part A Distribution of Oral and Written Scores

SCALE	SPANISH ORAL	SPANISH WRITTEN	ENGLISH ORAL	ENGLISH WRITTEN
1.0-1.9	-	1	-	-
2.0-2.9	10	13	-	1
3.0-3.9	15	15	17	20
4.0-4.9	-	-	-	-
5.0	5	1	13	9

Part B Distribution of Combined Scores

SCALE	SPANISH ORAL	SPANISH WRITTEN	ENGLISH ORAL	ENGLISH WRITTEN
1.0-1.9	-	-	-	-
2.0-2.9	13	13	1	1
3.0-3.9	16	16	21	21
4.0-4.9	-	-	-	-
5.0	1	1	8	8

LANGUAGE PERFORMANCE AND EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT INDICES
V SERIES

(N = 30)

SUBJECT NUMBER	SEX	AGE	SES	CL	H.S. RANK	SAT MATH	SAT VERBAL	GPA	COMBINED SPAN. PERF.	COMBINED ENG. PERF.
1.	F	19	3	1	1	507	584	3.4	2.4	3.8
2.	F	19	2	1	1	383	448	1.9	2.7	3.8
3.	M	18	1	1	1	389	472	2.6	3.4	3.9
4.	F	21	2	4	1	478	600	3.3	3.0	4.0
5.	M	21	3	4	1	496	525	2.1	2.7	3.6
6.	M	22	2	1	-	289	237	1.0	2.0	2.7
7.	F	22	2	4	2	261	346	2.7	3.9	3.9
8.	M	20	2	4	1	627	665	3.0	2.3	3.7
9.	F	21	3	2	-	-	-	-	3.4	3.9
10.	F	19	-	1	1	564	474	2.9	2.9	3.7
11.	M	22	2	4	3	407	366	2.9	3.6	3.9
12.	F	20	4	3	3	452	436	2.2	2.3	3.8
13.	M	21	3	4	1	577	587	4.0	3.0	4.0
14.	F	24	2	4	1	507	448	2.8	3.5	3.9
15.	F	19	4	3	1	357	383	3.4		3.7
16.	F	19	3	2	1	430	359	3.1	3.1	3.8
17.	F	19	4	3	1	-	-	3.3	2.8	3.9
18.	F	19	4	2	1	473	572	3.0	3.8	4.3
19.	F	19	1	3	1	448	497	2.6	3.5	4.1
20.	F	20	2	3	3	447	346	2.5	3.5	4.2
21.	M	25	1	2	2	-	-	2.6	3.8	4.3
22.	M	21	1	3	1	414	369	2.0	3.5	3.9
23.	M	21	2	4	1	505	368	3.1	2.9	3.8
24.	M	21	1	2	2	474	442	1.8	2.9	3.7
25.	F	26	2	4	1	497	396	3.0	3.8	4.2

V Series
(continued)

SUBJECT NUMBER	SEX	AGE	SES	CL	H.S. RANK	SAT MATH	SAT VERBAL	GPA	COMBINED SPAN. PERF.	COMBINE ENG. PER
26.	M	21	2	4	1	488	515	2.4	2.6	3.8
27.	M	24	4	1	-	-	-	2.3	4.3	3.4
28.	M	20	3	2	2	353	361	2.3	2.9	3.3
29.	F	18	4	1	2	358	335	1.7	3.2	4.2
30.	M	21	1	2	2	335	342	1.7	3.4	3.2
MEAN	1.5	20.7	2.2	2.7	1.5	442.2	441.3	2.6	3.1	3.8
S. D.	±0.5	±1.95	±1.0	±1.1	±.685	±14.2	±14.2	±3.0	±3.1	±2.0

NOTES: Explanations

10. Dashes (-) represent information not available
CL=Class; year of college
11. SES=Socio-Economic Status
1=Lower-Lower
12. 2=Upper-Lower
3=Lower-Middle
13. 4=Upper-Middle
5=Lower-Upper
14. H.S.=High School Rank
H.S. Rank:
15. 1=First Quarter
2=Second Quarter
16. 3=Third Quarter
SAT=Scholastic Aptitude Test
17. GPA-Grade Point Average
Span. Perf=Oral and Written Spanish Ratings Combined (See Scale bel
18. Eng. Perf.=Oral and Written English Ratings Combined (See Scale bel
S.D.=Standard Deviation
19. Language Performance Scale:
1=No functional Knowledge
20. 2=Elementary
3=Intermediate
21. 4=Advanced
5=Educated Native
22.
23.
24.